

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02

OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 CU-02

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FM JEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1841

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1973

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS REPRESENTATION AT CSCE STAGE III

REF: A. GENEVA 4580

B. GENEVA 2508

C. GENEVA 4292

D. GENEVA 3863

1. SUMMARY. EMBASSY RECOMMENDS USG ENCOURAGE OTHER COUNTRIES TAKE INITIATIVE ON CYPRUS REPRESENTATION ISSUE, AND SPECULATES ON TWO AVENUES BY WHICH THIS MIGHT BE DONE. WE DOUBT MAKARIOS CAN BE PERSUADED NOT TO ATTEND CSCE SUMMIT, AND WE SPECULATE THERE SOME FLEXIBILITY IN GOT POSITION. END SUMMARY.

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2. FROM NICOSIA PERSPECTIVE, WE SEE NO PRODUCTIVE WAY BY WHICH USG CAN DIRECTLY ENGAGE ISSUE OF CYPRUS REPRESENTATION AT STAGE III. WE CONCUR WITH GENEVA (REF B) THAT USG, IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, SHOULD AVOID INVOLVEMENT. WE SHOULD LET OTHER COUNTRIES WHOSE INTEREST IN STAGE III IS AT LEAST AS GREAT AS OURS BREAK THEIR LANCE ON THIS PROBLEM.

3. WE SPECULATE THERE MAY BE SOME GIVE IN TURK POSITION ON ISSUE OF WHO REPRESENTS CYPRUS AT STAGE III; WE SEE ABSOLUTELY NONE ON PART OF MAKARIOS. WE STRONGLY DOUBT USG OR UKG, OR ANY COUNTRY, COULD DISSUADE HIM FROM ATTENDING ILO CSCE SUMMIT. BASIC REASON IS THAT MAKARIOS HAS LABORED FOR MONTHS TO UNDERCUT (A) TURK CYPRIOT POSITION AND (B) GOT IMPUGNING OF HIS POLITICAL LEGITIMACY AS PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. TO DO THIS, HE HAS FORCED CYPRUS PROBLEM INTO AS MANY WORLD FORA AS HE CAN. AS RESULT HE HAS REAPED ENDORSEMENTS FROM COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, COUNCIL OF EUROPE, EC-9, UNGA, UNSG, NONALIGNED MOVEMENT, AAPSO, AND WORLD PEACE COUNCIL. AHEAD LIES A RAFT OF NEW SUPPORT DURING JULY 15-20 "WEEK OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FOR CYPRUS". WITH ALL THESE HEADY SUCCESSES, IT MOST UNLIKELY THAT ARCHBISHOP WILL DUCK CHANCE TO RUB GOT NOSE IN HIS LEGITIMACY AT CSCE SUMMIT. THIS ALL THE MORE SO NOW THAT DENKMASH HAS FRONTALLY CHALLENGED HIS RIGHT TO REPRESENT CYPRUS " AS A WHOLE" AT STAGE III (REF C).

4. IN EVENT THERE IS NO "GIVE" IN GOT POSITION, WE SEE TWO POSSIBLE AVENUES BY WHICH CYPRUS REPRESENTATION PROBLEM MIGHT BE SHELVED. BOTH ARE LONG SHOTS OVER WHICH USG HAS LITTLE OR NO DIRECT CONTROL. AT MOST, WE COULD ENCOURAGE THOSE EUROPEAN STATES WHO STRONGLY DESIRE A CSCE SUMMIT AND MIGHT BE WILLING TO CARRY BALL, OR TO REINFORCE THIRD-PARTY APPROACH, MADE ALONG EITHER OF FOLLOWING LINES. IDEAL CANDIDATE WOULD BE YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL PARTIES, ESPECIALLY WITH MAKARIOS (VIA NONALIGNED MOVEMENT.)

A. CSCE PROCEDURES MIGHT YIELD COMPROMISE WHEREBY
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MAKARIOS ATTENDS PRINCIPAL (OR INITIAL) STAGE III SESSION, AFTER WHICH CLERIDES (OR SOME OTHER GREEK CYPRIOT) LEADS GOC DELEGATION WHICH WOULD INCLUDE TURK CYPRIOTS. THIS AVENUE WOULD GIVE SOMETHING TO BOTH MAKARIOS (HEAD-OF-STATE ATTENDANCE AT HELSINKI) AND GOT (REPRESENTATION OF BOTH COMMUNITIES IN GOC DELEGATION). GOC WOULD CONSIDER IT MORE CAREFULLY THAN ANY OF BENLER'S FOUR "SOLUTIONS" (REF A) OR EARLIER

SURMISE FROM USMISSION GENEVA (REF D), ALL OF WHICH
IT WOULD REJECT OUT OF HAND.

B. USSR INITIATIVE IS ANOTHER POSSIBILITY,
SOVIETS ARE ANXIOUS FOR STAGE III. IF THEY PERCEIVE CYPRUS
REPRESENTATION AS MAIN OBSTACLE, MIGHT THEY OFFER A DEAL TO
MAKARIOS, IN EFFORT TO TRADE HIS CONSENT TO SOME RESOLUTION OF
THIS PROBLEM AGAINST FUTURE HELP FROM MOSCOW? FROM
NICOSIA VANTAGE, WE CANNOT JUDGE IMPACT OF SUCH
SOVIET PROBING ON CSCE CONTEXT. WE BELIEVE, HOW-
EVER, IT WOULD NOT CHANGE BASIC SITUATION ON CYPRUS,
EVEN IF SUCCESSFUL. MOREOVER, STRICTLY IN TERMS OF OUR INTERESTS
IN CYPRUS PROBLEM, WE SEE NO GAIN FROM USG EFFORT TO
PREEMPT PROSPECTIVE SOVIET MOVE TO RESOLVE ISSUE
OF CYPRUS REPRESENTATION.
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